

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 030677
ORIGIN AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 SS-15 SIG-01
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00
ACDA-12 ARA-10 AID-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /110 R

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APPROVED BY AF: WCHARROP
D:DLAMB

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O P 041813Z PEB 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY JIDDA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 030677

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PBOR, SO, ET, US

SUBJECT: ADDOU CALL ON THE DEPUTY SECRETARY

REF: MOGADISCIO 218

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1. SUMMARY: IN FEBRUARY 2 CALL ON DEPUTY SECRETARY,
SOMALI AMBASSADOR ADDOU DESCRIBED SOMALI FEARS OF COMING
ETHIOPIAN COUNTEROFFENSIVE AND SOVIET DESIRE FOR REVENGE
AGAINST SOMALIA. SOVIET GOAL, HE EMPHASIZED, WAS TO
ACHIEVE HEGEMONY IN HORN. AMBASSADOR ASKED WHAT ACTION US
IS PLANNING TO TAKE IF SOMALIA'S EXISTENCE IS THREATENED BY

INVASION FROM ETHIOPIA. DEPUTY SECRETARY STATED OUR POLICY IN AREA THEN NOTED BASIS FOR EVENTUAL SETTLEMENT MIGHT BE FOUND IN COMPROMISE BETWEEN SOMALI GOAL OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR OGADENI PEOPLE AND ETHIOPIAN WILLINGNESS GIVE AUTONOMY TO REGION. CONCEPTS UPON WHICH PARTIES MIGHT AGREE EVEN BEFORE ACTUAL NEGOTIATIONS INCLUDE CEASEFIRE LINKED WITH SOMALI WITHDRAWAL, AN INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCE, AND AUTONOMY FOR OGADEN WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF ETHIOPIAN SOVEREIGNTY. ADDOU REJECTED LATTER POINT AS CIRCUMSCRIBING FULL FREEDOM OF CHOICE FOR OGADENI PEOPLE. DEPUTY SECRETARY REPLIED THAT SOMALIS MUST REMEMBER IMPORTANCE OF PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. SOMALIS SHOULD MOVE TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS OR RISK SEEING THEIR WORST-CASE SCENARIO MATERIALIZE. END SUMMARY.

2. PRIOR TO RETURNING MOGADISCIO FOR CONSULTATIONS, AMBASSADOR ADDOU PAID COURTESY CALL ON DEPUTY SECRETARY FEBRUARY 2 IN WHICH HE PAINTED GLOOMY SCENARIO IN HORN CONTAINING MANY OF SAME POINTS AS REFTEL. HE STATED THAT MAGNITUDE OF THE SOVIET BLOC COMMITMENT TO ETHIOPIA MADE IT CLEAR THAT SOVIET INTENTIONS GO BEYOND JUST DEFENDING ETHIOPIA. IN SOMALI VIEW, SOVIETS ARE SEEKING REVENGE AGAINST SOMALIA FOR HAVING REJECTED THE SOVIET/CUBAN PLAN OF LAST SPRING FOR A FEDERATION OF SOMALIA, ETHIOPIA, ADEN AND - BY IMPLICATION - DJIBOUTI, AND FOR HAVING OUSTED SOVIETS IN NOVEMBER. ADDOU EXPECTS THE ETHIOPIAN COUNTER-OFFENSIVE WILL BEGIN VERY SOON AND STATED SOMALI VIEW THAT CUBANS AND SOVIETS ARE MANNING THE SOPHISTICATED CONFIDENTIAL

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WEAPONS. SOMALIA EXPECTS THE COUNTER-OFFENSIVE TO CROSS INTO NORTHERN SOMALIA AS SOVIETS STRIVE TO ACHIEVE HEGEMONY IN HORN WHICH THEY FAILED TO ACCOMPLISH THROUGH SIAD. THE AMBASSADOR EXPECTS THE RUSSIANS WILL TRY TO DEPOSE SIAD IN THE PROCESS.

3. THE AMBASSADOR STATED THAT HE WAS CONCERNED ABOUT US DESIRE JUST TO PROMOTE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA. THE SOVIET GOAL, HE EMPHASIZED, WAS CLEARLY TO INCLUDE THE ENTIRE AREA IN THE SOVIET BLOC. SOMALIA HAS STATED ITS WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS BUT IT TAKES TWO TO NEGOTIATE. AMBASSADOR REITERATED SOMALI FEAR OF SOVIET DESIRE REVENGE SOMALI FAILURE JOIN GREATER SOCIALIST FEDERATION. HE NOTED CUBAN DEFENSE MINISTER RAUL CASTRO HAD RECENTLY BEEN IN ETHIOPIA AND WAS NOW IN MOSCOW WORKING WITH RUSSIAN OFFICIALS TO COORDINATE THE COUNTER-ATTACK. HE NOTED THAT OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE AREA WOULD BE ADVERSELY AFFECTED IF SOMALI WERE FORCED TO ACCEPT CONDITIONS DICTATED BY THE SOVIET BLOC.

4. IN PREPARATION FOR RETURN HOME, AMBASSADOR SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHAT ACTION THE US IS PLANNING TO TAKE IF SOMALIA'S EXISTENCE WAS THREATENED BY AN INVASION. HE QUICKLY ADDED THAT SOMALIA DOES NOT EXPECT ANY US TROOP DEPLOYMENT BUT DOES SEEK SOME ASSURANCE UPON WHICH HIS COUNTRY COULD RELY IF THREATENED. WHILE HE REALIZED THAT US WAS RESTRAINED FROM ACTION AS LONG AS THE SOMALIS WERE IN THE OGADEN, HE WANTED TO BE ABLE TO TELL MOGADISCIO SOMETHING ABOUT POSSIBLE US ACTIONS IF INVASION INTO SOMALIA DEVELOPS. HE CONCLUDED THAT HE WAS LOOKING FOR "UPLIFTING WORDS TO BOOST SOMALI MORALE."

5. DEPUTY SECRETARY REPLIED OUR POLICY REMAINS NOT TO ARM EITHER SIDE AS LONG AS FIGHTING CONTINUES. STRESSING OUR DESIRE FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, HE NOTED WE WERE LOOK-
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6. DEPUTY SECRETARY THEN STATED CONCEPTS OR PRINCIPLES WHICH MIGHT BE AGREED UPON EVEN BEFORE ACTUAL NEGOTIATIONS BEGIN INCLUDE:

-- A CEASEFIRE LINKED WITH WITHDRAWAL OF SOMALI TROOPS FROM ETHIOPIAN TERRITORY.

-- THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOME INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCE TO GUARANTEE THE SAFETY OF THE OGADENI PEOPLE AND PREVENT ANY ETHIOPIAN MOVEMENT INTO SOMALIA.

-- AND THE CREATION OF SOME TYPE OF REGIONAL, AUTONOMOUS GOVERNMENT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF ETHIOPIAN SOVEREIGNTY IN AN OGADEN DISTRICT DRAWN TO INCLUDE THE SOMALI INHABITANTS OF THE REGION. IN CONJUNCTION WITH THIS, IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO NEGOTIATE A DEFINITIVE BORDER BETWEEN ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA TO REPLACE PRESENT PROVISIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE LINE.

7. THESE CONCEPTS COULD NOT BE ACHIEVED, DEPUTY SECRETARY STATED, UNTIL FALSE CONCEPTIONS HELD BY BOTH PARTIES TO CONFLICT ARE REPLACED BY REALISTIC ATTITUDES. THE CONCEPT OF AUTONOMY, IN PARTICULAR, WOULD REQUIRE SOME CAREFUL NEGOTIATIONS. BUT IF SUCH NEGOTIATIONS ARE NOT UNDERTAKEN SOON, BLOODSHED AMBASSADOR ADDOU PREDICTED MAY WELL DEVELOP.

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8. AMBASSADOR ADDOU REPLIED THAT SOMALI ETHNIC POPULATION IN OGADEN HAS ALWAYS STRUGGLED FOR INDEPENDENCE FROM ETHIOPIA. IN HIS VIEW, SOMALIA DID NOT WANT TO ANNEX THE OGADEN WHICH HAS A LARGE ENOUGH SIZE AND POPULATION TO BE AN INDEPENDENT COUNTRY. BUT SOMALIS WANT OGADENI PEOPLE TO HAVE A COMPLETE FREEDOM OF CHOICE TO DECIDE WHETHER THEY WANT INDEPENDENCE, AUTONOMY WITHIN ETHIOPIA, OR SOME ARRANGEMENT WITH SOMALIA. HE AGREED CEASEFIRE WAS OPTIMUM FIRST STEP BUT STRESSED THAT INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE - BE IT UN OR OAU - SHOULD BE USED TO INQUIRE OF PEOPLE WHAT THEY WANT. ADDOU CONCLUDED THAT PRECONDITION

OF AN AUTONOMOUS OGADEN WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF ETHIOPIA IMITED FREEDOM OF CHOICE OF OGADENI.

9. IN REPLY, DEPUTY SECRETARY REPEATED THREE BASIC CONCEPTS FOR SETTLEMENT -- CEASEFIRE AND SOMALI WITHDRAWAL, INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE, AND AUTONOMY WITHIN ETHIOPIAN FRAMEWORK -- AND URGED SOMALIS REMEMBER THE IMPORTANCE OF PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. THE SOMALIS MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT ETHIOPIA'S VIEWS IN FORMULATING THEIR IDEAS ON SETTLEMENT. ETHIOPIA SIMPLY WOULD NOT ACCEPT A DIVISION OF ITS COUNTRY BY FORCE, DEPUTY SECRETARY SAID. ADDOU URGED THAT A SOLUTION NOT BE IMPOSED ON THE OGADENIS FOR "TEMPORARY EXPEDIENCIES." THE DEPUTY SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT THE SOMALIS SHOULD CONSIDER LESS THAN PERFECT SETTLEMENT TERMS OR RISK SEEING THEIR WORST FEARS VIS-A-VIS SOVIETS REALIZED.

10. IN CLOSING, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARROP ADDED THAT NIGERIA HAS INFORMED US THAT OAU MEDIATION COMMITTEE PLANS TO INVITE SIAD BARRE AND MENGISTU TO MEET WITH IT TO DISCUSS PEACE IN THE HORN. HARROP EXPRESSED HOPE THAT GSDR WILL AGREE ATTEND MEETING. VANCE

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INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 /033 R

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DRAFTED BY: AF:KSMITH

APPROVED BY: AF:WCHARROP

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO RUEHCR/USINT HAVANA PRIORITY 0000

AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 030677

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 030677 SENT ACTION MOGADISCIO

INFO ADDIS ABABA, NAIROBI, KHARTOUM, DJIBOUTI, LONDON, PARIS,

ROME, JIDDA, CAIRO, TEHRAN, LIBREVILLE, USUN NEW YORK 04

FEB 78

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 030677

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UNQUOTE VANCE

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NNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

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Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
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Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
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Original Previous Classification: n/a
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Review Release Event: n/a
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Status: <DBA CORRECTED> gwr 970902
Subject: ADDOU CALL ON THE DEPUTY SECRETARY
TAGS: MOPS, PBOR, ET, SO, UR, US, PBOR, (ABDULLAHI AHMED ADDOU)
To: MOGADISCIO
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/5ccb21cf-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
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